CARRISON STATE

Israel's Role in U.S. Global Strategy

Steve Goldfield

Palestine Focus Publications

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Palestine Focus Publications
San Francisco

EAFORD
London and New York

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Library of Congress
ISBN 0-935177-00-0

Palestine Focus Publications
P. O. Box 27462
San Francisco, CA 94127

EAFORD
Agriculture House
Knightsbridge
London SW1 UK

P. O. Box 2782
Grand Central Station
New York, NY 10163

Printed in the United States of America
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Printed by Sequoyah Graphics
Typeset by Access Typography

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many people have shared information and opinions. Among them are Alfred Moleah, Anis al-Qasem, Pat Flynn, Eric Hooglund, Juan, and Noureddine. I would like to single out Jane Hunter, publisher of *Israeli Foreign Affairs*, with whom I have collaborated and shared all information sources since January of 1983, for special thanks. An earlier draft of this paper has appeared, in sections, in *Democratic Palestine*. A condensed Dutch translation has appeared in *Nieuwsbrief Palestina Komitee*, Amsterdam under the title, "Israel's Rol in de Internationale Wapenhandel." Publication of this book has been made possible by a grant from the International Organization for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (EAFORD).

PREFACE

This series will explore issues of concern to North Americans and others trying to change U.S. policy in the Middle East, including the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, U.S. intervention in the Middle East, U.S. aid to Israel, and the nature of Zionism. Factual information and sound analysis are important tools for those who oppose injustice. Part of our mission is to highlight the humanity of the Palestinian people, as individuals and as a nation with a living, breathing cultural and political life. Another responsibility is to document what the Zionist movement and the state of Israel have done, buttressed by tens of billions of U.S. tax dollars, not only to the Palestinian people, but to peoples valiantly, and often desperately, fighting to win freedom from discrimination and oppression all over the world.

The cover note for Israel's leading women's weekly La'Ishah explains: "In two months the reign of Shimona Hollander, Miss Israel 1983, will end. Last week she was mobilized to the Israeli army. Even before her call-up, Miss Israel was photographed in the USA for the decorative calendar of the Israel Arms Industries. Now she holds a new title: The Uzi Girl."

—*Al Fajr*, March 14, 1984

INTRODUCTION

Many American television viewers were stunned to learn on April 23, 1984 that "the state of Israel, at Washington's urging, has armed a quarter of the rebel army" in Nicaragua, the contras, according to Fred Francis of NBC News on location in Honduras. NBC showed a U.S.-supplied C-47 cargo plane dropping weapons to contras 110 miles from Managua. Enrique Bermudez, contra commander, told Francis, "We received some weapons ... [the] Israeli government took from [the] PLO in Lebanon."

Both the House and the Senate had overwhelmingly rejected CIA mining of Nicaraguan harbors only a week before, but "the agency must approve every air drop into Nicaragua," according to Francis.

Few Americans have looked objectively at the relationship between the United States and Israel, especially beyond the Middle East region. This study attempts to supply some of the necessary data and to present a preliminary analysis of that relationship, with an emphasis on Israel's international activity in areas of interest to the United States.

The study focuses on the following four theses:

The Israeli economy is a militarized economy, more so by far than any other in the world. It

relies on the export of arms and military services for more of its exports than any other country in the world.

U.S. military and economic aid have enabled the Israelis to build up this military economy and U.S. interests determine who gets these arms. U.S. aid also shields the Israeli population, including the working class, from the consequences of militarization: unemployment, inflation over 400 percent, and loss of purchasing power.

Israeli military exports are an important component of U.S. strategy in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, going to regimes which the United States wishes to support but feels politically constrained to arm because of world or American public opinion. In general, Israeli relations improve and arms begin to flow when a rightwing dictatorship comes to power and relations deteriorate and arms stop when democratic regimes return. The Israelis are a key element in U.S. strategy to circumvent Congressional and public opinion in the United States.

Israel's international role, not sympathy for victims of the Holocaust or simply its regional role, explains why it receives more U.S. aid than any other country. Important as the Israeli role in its own region is for U.S. interests, this Israeli international activity is equal in importance and explains why the Israelis are permitted by the United States government to do almost anything they want in their own region without

risking loss of U.S. support.

Massive research and analysis demands to be done on all these topics. The author hopes the extensive documentation presented will assist others in completing the work begun here.

Consider any third-world area that has been a trouble spot in the past ten years and you will discover Israeli officers and weapons implicated in the conflict—supporting American interests and helping in what they call "the defense of the West." The symbols of this involvement are familiar: the Uzi submachine gun and the Galil assault rifle, and Israeli officers named Uzi and Galil and Golan. They can be found in Iran, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Namibia, Taiwan, Indonesia, the Philippines, Chile, and Bolivia to name a few.

In South Africa, for example, Israel is actively involved in defending what Washington sees as a "strategic outpost"—with the complicity and encouragement of the United States. In this case, Israel's help is particularly important because although the United States is committed to the survival of the South African regime, Washington feels that the overt support it can give to South Africa is severely limited by world public opinion.

Throughout the third world, Israel has succeeded where other Western powers have failed in using force to blunt the edge of native radicalism. And they do it with what Washington sees as aplomb, enthusiasm, and grace. The Reagan administration cannot send military advisers to Zaire, Guatemala, South Africa, or Haiti. Nor would many of America's European allies willingly aid repressive regimes like, say, the Chilean junta. What others regard as "dirty work," Israelis regard as defensible duty and even, in some cases, an exalted calling.[1]

Israel's Weapons Economy

This somewhat agitational but scrupulously accurate statement appeared in the pages of the *New York Times*, in January of 1983. Its author, Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, teaches psychology at the University of Haifa. Beit-Hallahmi went on to point out that "there is virtually no Israeli opposition to this global adventurism ... no 'human rights lobby.'"

While western media have recently focused some attention on massive Israeli arms shipments to dictatorships in Central America, little analysis of the full Israeli role as a junior partner of the United States has appeared. Here we present a review of the Israeli economy and armaments industry, a summary of Israeli global military activities, and an assessment of the contribution of US aid to Israeli industrial potential and then weigh the overall significance of Israeli service to the United States government.

ISRAELI ARMS PRODUCTION

The two largest Israeli military producers—Israel Aircraft Industries and Israeli Military In-

dustries (also known as Ta'as)—are both owned by the government and are the two largest Israeli industrial firms and the largest exporters.[2] In fact, according to the British *Financial Times* of December 18, 1981, 300,000 workers, or 25 percent of the Israeli labor force, work in military-related jobs.[3] Although this figure includes the army, which numbers about 165,000,[4] it is still a staggering proportion of an economy devoted to war. Of Israeli industrial workers, about 14 to 18 percent produce weapons.[5]

The military sector is the single largest part of Israeli economic life. In the seventies, according to *Ha'aretz*, it absorbed nearly 37 percent of the budget and 16 percent of the total economic resources, four and five times the rates of military expenditures in NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries.[6] "Israel maintains more tanks, combat aircraft, and armored vehicles than Britain," reported David Lennon from Tel Aviv. Military expenditures account for almost 30 percent of the gross annual product; the 1981 military budget amounted to $7.34 billion.[7]

IAI, founded by David Ben-Gurion in 1953,[8] manufactures the Kfir C-2 fighter plane, the Arava short-take-off-and-landing transport plane (well suited to counterinsurgency),[9] the Hawk and Gabriel missiles (in its MBT division which also makes bomb-release systems and perimeter-security systems), and the Westwind jet, sold as an executive business aircraft but which converts to a fighter plane—seven per

month are being sold to private buyers in the United States.[10] The Shafrir missile is a copy of the AIM-90/G and AIM9-L missiles manufactured by Raytheon[11] in the United States and including U.S.-made components.[12] IAI's Bedek aviation division does overhaul, maintenance, and training; operates nine international airlines; and trains local personnel for many national airlines.[13] IAI has 20,000 employees.[14]

The new Israeli fighter, the Lavie[15] (which the Israelis are getting U.S. aid to produce),[16] was to have Pratt & Whitney 1120 jet engines;[17] to date the United States has not released the technology the Israelis need to produce all its parts.[18] However, the latest plans are for the Israelis to produce the engines under license,[19] a step which some Israeli economists believe could distort and bankrupt the economy still further.[20] The Lavie is designed to carry Israeli nuclear warheads.[21]

The delta-wing Kfir fighter plane, incidentally, is an upgraded French Mirage, using an American-produced General Electric J79-17 engine, based on blueprints stolen by the Mossad, the Israeli overseas intelligence service, after General de Gaulle stopped sales to the Israelis in 1967. A few years later the Mossad illegally spirited war boats out of France.[22]

IMI makes the Merkava tank, the Uzi submachine gun, and the Galil assault rifle, itself a refinement of the Soviet-designed Kalashnikov or AK-47.[23] IMI also profits from

Uzi sales via a Belgian licensee and from the Galil via a Dutch firm.[24] IMI estimates that one hundred countries have purchased one million Uzis since 1953.[25] The Merkava is based on the British Chieftain with an engine from the American Teledyne Company. The Carter administration allowed Israel to use $107 million in U.S. military aid to develop it and to cancel an order for 175 M-60 tanks, both unprecedented.[26] IMI has 14,500 employees.[27]

The largest private arms company, Sultam, which specializes in military electronics, is owned primarily by Koor, which is owned by the Histadrut, the Israeli labor federation.[28] The Histadrut has substantial investments throughout the Israeli economy including in armaments. With 20 to 25 percent of Israeli workers employed by its companies, the Histadrut is the second largest employer after the government itself, which employs just under 40 percent of the workers.[29]

Sultam general manager Yakov Lior told the *Jerusalem Post* (April 27, 1979), "Sultam exports its products to forty countries. Among Sultam's products are complete systems of cannons and mortars, together with optical instruments, auxiliary instruments, and various sorts of munitions including night sabotage materials, lighting devices, grenades, and smoke bombs."[30] One of Sultam's hottest items is its 155-millimeter howitzer.[31] Shlomo Zevdelovitch, one of Sultam's founders, was described as "one of the

biggest arms manufacturers and traders in the world. Among his other deals, he served as middle man in the gigantic sales of Israeli arms to various countries in Europe, Asia, Africa, and other regions."[32]

Together, IAI, IMI, Koor (Sultam and Tadiran), Elron, and Rafael produce more than 90 percent of Israeli arms exports.[33]

In May 1983 *Koteret Rashit* reported that the firms involved in arms sales "have been joined by several veterans of Israeli Military Intelligence who specialize in electronic surveillance. Among their customers: countries in South America. High officials of the Lebanese Phalangists have also expressed interest in the products of this firm."[34]

FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN ISRAELI ARMS PRODUCTION

Foreign investment is also heavy in Israeli arms firms; U.S. companies play the largest role with such names as American Electronics Laboratories, Aeronautics Corporation of America, Gerber Scientific, Control Data Corporation, Motorola, General Telephone & Electronics, Rockefeller Brothers and Associates, Intel Corporation, TRW, Teledyne, and Rand Information Systems—to name only a few—heavily involved.[35]

In 1977, the *Economist* reported that the Israeli government turned to South Africa for capital

to develop "the next generation of Israeli warships." In return the South Africans were to receive the first four or five new boats.[36] Tadiran, the third largest Israeli arms exporter and a subsidiary of the Histadrut's Koor and General Telephone & Electronics (Tadiran is 44.64 percent owned by each and 10.72 percent owned by its employees),[37] and South Africa's Consolidated Power, have formed a large electronics combine specializing in military electronics and computers.[38] In 1970 Tadiran negotiated a licensing agreement with C. F. Fuchs, Ltd. for the production of highly sophisticated electronic equipment it developed.[39] The Israeli and South African subsidiaries of Motorola operate several joint ventures.[40] Iskor, which manufactures half of Israeli steel, is 51 percent owned by Koor, i.e., by the Histadrut, and 49 percent owned by the South African government-owned steel corporation, Iscor.[41] Koor also has a South African subsidiary, Iskoor Steel Services Company. These are only a few examples of joint Israeli and South African arms production and economic collaboration. More than 250 South African firms belong to the very active South Africa-Israel Chamber of Economic Relations.[42]

The Israeli government offers considerable inducements to new investors: 70 percent of initial capital (30 percent grant and 40 percent at 8 percent interest—with Israeli inflation over 130 percent in 1982 and over 400 percent in 1984, this is virtually interest-free[43]) and up to half of

research and development costs. The would-be investor also gets subsidies for training and plant and premises rental costs, low or waived customs duties, and a flat corporate tax of 33 percent suspended for the first five years.[44]

The U.S. Department of Commerce reported that in 1976 Israeli workers "produced less than half as much as U.S. workers" but were paid, including benefits, "less than one-third" as much, making Israeli wage cost per unit of output "lower than in most industrial countries."[45] Rafael Benvinisti, director of the Israel Investment authority, estimates that Israeli engineering graduates earn 40 percent of U.S. salaries. Leon Riebman, president and chief executive officer of AEL Industries Inc., noted, "it is costing us 30 percent of what it would cost us to do the same type of research in the U.S."[46]

The *Wall Street Journal* reported in 1981 that "Israelis complain that in criticizing Israel's hawkish military policies, the U.S. overlooks the fact that Israel has served as a kind of 'combat laboratory' for U.S. weapons development."[47] *Defense Attache* called Israeli weapons "combat proven."[48] At IAI, an official notes that "we have people here all the time from U.S. companies and the U.S. military studying our experience." An IAI official added, "An engineer here knows that what he produces, he or his son will fight with."[49]

Moshe Arens, the former Israeli defense minister, was an aeronautical engineer for the

Curtiss-Wright Corp. before he emigrated in 1957.[50] By 1959 he opposed Ben-Gurion and Eshkol because they were not moving quickly enough, in his judgment, to develop Israeli nuclear weapons. In 1960, with a former commander-in-chief of the Israeli Air Force, he founded Elron. He participated in the development of the Arava transport and received the "Israeli Prize for Security" in 1971 for reasons which remain secret to date. He is also a director of Israel Aircraft Industries, a strong backer of the Lavie (formerly called the Aryeh),[51] and helped negotiate the U.S.-Israeli accord on strategic cooperation.[52] Arens cites three advantages of the Israeli defense industry that he says the United States will never match, according to the *Wall Street Journal*, "the experience of workers who are nearly all members of Israel's military reserves; lower costs, because of salary levels that are about half those in the U.S.; and speed in development of weapons systems."[53]

U.S. ARMS PURCHASES FROM ISRAEL

In fact, conditions are so profitable that the U.S. government itself has extended many contracts to Israeli arms manufacturers, provoking complaints from their U.S. counterparts. The General Accounting Office responded that the Buy American Act permits "preference for suppliers of domestic end-products but does not require

that bidders offering foreign end-products be rejected."[54] In any case, Israeli arms manufacturers are exempted both from Buy American restrictions and from import duties.[55] U.S. Defense Department purchases from Israeli firms for aviation and computer goods went up from 26.5 percent of Israel's exports to the United States in 1978 to 37 percent in 1980.[56]

An interesting illustration of this trend is the McDonnell Douglas F-15. In 1977, the Israelis were refused coproduction rights. But by 1979 over $20 million worth of F-15 parts were Israeli made. Certain F-15 parts, such as gun access panel doors, are now manufactured only by Israeli companies as subcontractors for McDonnell Douglas. One of the largest private Israeli firms, Cyclone Aviation Products, thus produced parts for F-15s delivered to the Saudis over apparently vociferous Israeli opposition.[57] The Israelis were well-compensated after this "defeat."[58] It is, of course, highly unlikely that the Saudi government was aware of this ironic anomaly. In another case, Tadiran signed a $93 million contract to supply electronics equipment directly to the Department of Defense.[59]

According to the *Financial Times*, Professor Ezra Sadan, director-general of the Israeli Treasury, reported to his government on March 22, 1981 "that during talks in Washington [the week before] he found a very receptive ear to the suggestion that Israel could provide the U.S. with some of the equipment needed for reinforcing

the U.S. army." The story continued, "One area where the Israelis are most hopeful is in providing the equipment and knowledge it has developed in desert warfare to the U.S. rapid deployment force, which will be expected to fight in desert conditions in the Middle East."[60]

In April 1983, Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard N. Perle recommended the U.S. Army purchase weapons from an Israeli company. One year before he had been paid $50,000 as a consulting fee by the same company.[61]

ARMS PRODUCTION AND THE ISRAELI ECONOMY

Data on Israeli arms exports and total exports are both classified, but estimates from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute indicate as much as 40 percent of total Israeli exports consist of military supplies and services,[62] an estimated $2 billion in sales in 1982 according to a 1981 projection by Deputy Minister of Defense Mordechai Tzipori.[63] Ya'acov Meridor told Israel Bond officials in Jerusalem, "We consider that, on the road to our economic independence, we can increase in the next four years the weaponry exports by an additional $2 billion."[64] Military exports, according to a 1982 article in Ha'aretz, accounted for 60 percent of Israeli steel, electrical, and electronics exports over the previous five years. Although the slowdown in the world economy has hurt Israeli

arms sales somewhat, in 1983 some Israeli economists advocated *reducing* arms as a percent of total exports to 25 percent.[65] In fact, industrial exports, not including diamonds, are expected to grow from 30 percent of exports a decade ago to two-thirds, according to Avraham Ashieri, director-general of the Industry and Trade Ministry.[66]

In 1975 Israeli military exports were about $150 million, approximately 15 percent of total exports and double the previous year.[67] As recently as 1977 Israeli arms exports totaled only $285 million. By 1980 Israeli firms collectively, with $1.25 billion in world arms sales,[68] were the single largest arms exporter to sub-Saharan Africa and to Central America. In 1982 the CIA ranked Israeli arms exports at fifth in the world,[69] after the United States, the Soviet Union, France, and Britain. The Israelis had apparently passed West Germany and Italy, ranked ahead of them in a 1981 *New York Times* report.[70]

Former Israeli Prime Minister Begin's special assistant for economic coordination, Ya'acov Meridor, confidently predicted in 1981 that over the following four years Israel would increase "weaponry exports by an additional $2 billion."[71] Compare this rapid growth with the 24.5 percent decline in diamond exports in 1981; the diamond labor force shrank by one-third in 1980.[72] In the same period chemical and plastics exports declined 4.9 percent and textiles 17 per-

cent.[73] But electronics, machinery, and metal products—i.e. weapons—grew by 25.7 percent.[74] Until recently Israeli arms exports were doubling every other year.[75]

Until 1971 Israeli arms production was mainly ammunition for small arms and parts for repair of foreign-produced equipment. Supposedly, the original reason for the rapid shift into broad-based production was to reduce Israeli reliance on foreign suppliers.[76] However, in 1976 the Israeli Defense Ministry had to cut back purchases of domestic weapons because of a requirement that the $1.6 billion in American military assistance that year be spent in the United States. The Israelis shifted to export production though $1.5 billion of the $1.6 billion was later released to be spent for Israeli-produced weapons.[77]

As domestic demand for military supplies increased (i.e. Israel was fighting more wars), the attraction of selling to foreign markets to pay the huge costs of the Israeli military grew apace. Because the major industrial powers produce their own arms, the primary Israeli market has been in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.[78]

Israel's Arms Customers

When he was first appointed defense minister in mid-1981, Ariel Sharon moved to take "control of all aspects of Israeli arms sales and purchases apparently because he wants to gain political benefit for Israel from its sales policy." —*Financial Times*[79]

ASIA

Thailand: The Israelis shipped 20,000 Galil rifles and an unknown number of Uzis to Thailand just after the army reimposed a bloody dictatorship in 1976.[80] Since that time Israelis have also been training the Thai army. One Israeli involved in the arms industry reported, "When I went past the Thai King's palace recently, I was pleased to see that his majesty's body guards were carrying them [Uzis]." Thailand has also bought small transport aircraft and 155mm artillery along with training.

Since at least 1970, Israeli trainers have operated in Singapore, especially with the armored corps.[81] Singapore was the first Asian purchaser of the Gabriel missile.[82] In 1979 the U.S. reportedly arranged the Israeli sale of fourteen Skyhawk attack planes to Indonesia.[83] Similar arrangements with South Korea and the Philip-

pines have been reported.[84] The *Christian Science Monitor* quoted a source estimating at least $100 million in Israeli arms sales to Southeast Asia in 1981.[85]

Taiwan: The oldest and closest Israeli ally in eastern Asia is Taiwan. Not only has Taiwan bought millions of dollars of Israeli weapons, such as Gabriel naval rockets, Shafrir missiles, and light weapons,[86] but Israel and Taiwan have cooperated in developing new weapons, not least nuclear weapons with South Africa.

Sri Lanka: The Mossad, the Israeli intelligence agency, trained a special "antiterrorist" corps to combat Tamil guerrillas in Sri Lanka in 1984, according to Sri Lankan Foreign Minister A. C. S. Hameed. "We decided on the Israelis and asked the Americans to help us arrange it."[87]

Lebanese Phalange: Israeli arms, including Sherman tanks, have been flowing to the Lebanese Phalangists for many years. Unlike most worldwide sales, aid to the Phalangists has been a gift. The Phalangists, in turn, held training camps for a German neo-Nazi group responsible for the September 1980 Oktoberfest massacre in Munich where 53 were killed and 215 wounded by a bomb.[88] A former Red Brigades leader in Italy, Petrizio Peci, charges his group was offered but refused arms by Israeli intelligence in return for information on PLO activities in Italy.[89]

Iran

In Iran, Israeli advisers counseled the Shah to use "tanks and machine guns against the people" in 1978.[90] Later *Ha'aretz* reported that the loss of Iranian military purchases cost the Israelis $225 million in 1978 and a similar amount in 1979.[91] Two thousand workers were dismissed from the artillery manufacturer Sultam in Yaken'am "because of the Iranian revolution."[92]

The Israeli arms manufacturers managed to recoup this loss, however. Israeli hostility to Iraq has stimulated a resumption of sales to Iran.[93] Teheran requested $200 million worth of equipment after the war with Iraq began.[94] The Iranians, stuck with U.S. weapons and no spare parts, apparently had nowhere else to go. The Carter administration asked the Israelis "to please hold off" until the hostages were released, but the Israelis had already provided 250 spare tires for Iran's U.S.-made F-4 Phantom jets in October 1980.[95] Pierre Salinger, Paris bureau chief for ABC News, showed documentation for the $330,000 deal, "including copies of the Iranian bank transfers to the Israel defense ministry's buying mission at the Bank Hapoalim ["Workers' Bank"] in Zurich," according to the *Village Voice*.[96] ABC News also reported Israeli sales of 106mm recoilless rifles to Iran.[97] On July 18, 1981 a CL 44 turbo-prop, hired from a small Argentine air firm named Transporte Aereo Rioplatense to carry 360 tons

of U.S. arms from Tel Aviv to Teheran, strayed off course over the Turkish border and crashed in Soviet Armenia.[98] The cargo plane, using the code name "Tango November," was returning from the third of twelve scheduled missions when it was intercepted by two MIG-25s. The *Sunday Times* of London reported this was part of a $27.9 million Israeli deal with Iran to supply spare parts for American-made tanks.[99]

AFRICA

Israeli military sales were hurt by the break in relations with most African states after 1973—only Malawi, Swaziland, and Lesotho refused to break relations. However, the Israelis maintained close ties with the Ivory Coast, Emperor Bokassa's Central African Republic, and Malawi.[100] Israeli advisors originally set up and still train Malawi's youth movement along the lines of the Israeli Gadna and Nahal, official Israeli premilitary and military formations for youth. Malawian President Banda uses young boys from this youth movement to murder and torture his opponents in much the same way as the death squads in Central America.[101] Israel was also credited with fueling the Sudanese civil war and with bringing Idi Amin, trained in Israel, to power in Uganda.[102]

Zaire

In November 1981 Ariel Sharon made an unan-

nounced trip to Zaire, Gabon, and the Central African Republic. A secret protocol for military cooperation was signed with Zaire.[103] In December 1982 then Israeli Foreign Minister Shamir (later prime minister) negotiated a resumption of diplomatic relations—Zaire is the first black African nation to resume diplomatic relations since the 1973 war—and an $8 million arms sale,[104] according to Zairean President Mobutu, himself trained as a paratrooper in Israel in 1963.[105] Shamir's party included 85 officials, private businessmen, and technicians.[106] He met a reception normally reserved for heads of state.

Former Defense Minister Sharon visited Zaire again just a few weeks before he was removed. On January 21, 1983, Sharon and an entourage including scores of military experts and two generals signed a five-year agreement under which "Israeli military advisers will restructure Zaire's 20,000-member armed forces. Israel's primary responsibility will be to 'recruit, equip and retrain' the Kamanyola brigade, which protects the Shaba province, Zaire's mining center and the site of two invasions by Katanga rebels in 1977 and 1978,"[107] according to *Africa Report*. While in Zaire, Sharon also met secretly with representatives from Kenya, Uganda, Central African Republic, Tanzania, and Chad according to the same source.[108] The Israelis seem destined to become Zaire's primary arms suppliers,[109] selling weapons from light arms

to artillery and armor, patrol vessels for Lake Tanganyika, radar and drone spy planes, helicopters, all-terrain vehicles, sophisticated communications apparatus, electronic barbed wire fencing, etc. Israeli advisers will also organize a new artillery battalion for the Zairean navy at its Kalemi command base on Lake Tanganyika. *Africa Report* added that "Mobutu's special presidential brigade, which has been supervised by Israeli advisers since last year, will be enlarged from 3,000 to 7,500 men."[110] Israeli security experts will also provide advice in the area of intelligence.[111]

A former leader of Zaire pointed out in *Le Soir* that "the agreement with Israel provides a weapon of dissuasion in a good many respects, even if the arms have not yet arrived. When they speak of electronic detectors along the Shaba frontier, it makes an impression on Zambia, Angola, and Tanzania. Israeli aid is also a dissuasive force against the opposition and even a force of intimidation regarding the population who say to themselves that Mobutu is supported by a powerful ally."[112] Zaire will set up its new embassy in Jerusalem rather than in Tel Aviv.[113]

Liberia: In 1983 Liberia, apparently under U.S. pressure, resumed diplomatic relations with Israel.[114] Liberian Head of State Samuel Doe, who flew in an Israeli air force jet from Monrovia to Tel Aviv in August with a 40-member delegation

including six cabinet ministers and nine members of his People's Redemption Council, was the first African leader to visit Israel in twelve years. Although Doe spoke of the "god-given rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to a state of their own" and expressed concern about Israel's relations with South Africa in Israel, he announced that the new Liberian embassy would be in Jerusalem.[115] The next month an eight-man delegation from IAI, headed by IAI president S. N. Arrear, arrived in Monrovia.[116] In January 1984, South African-born Israeli President Chaim Herzog visited Liberia and Zaire.[117]

An Israeli research institute reported that Kenya bought missile boats and Gabriel missiles between 1978 and 1982. The same source claimed Morocco has bought AMX tanks and armored personnel carriers. Swaziland bought an Arava in 1979.[118] Minister Without Portfolio Mhambi Mnisi called for continued good relations with Israel in May of 1984. The Israeli ambassador to Swaziland said Israel would continue to provide technical asistance.[119] Several other African states are allegedly seeking Israeli military equipment or training and a larger number, perhaps as many as thirty, have significant trade ties. Since 1960, at least fifteen African countries have entered into military cooperation programs with Israel, according to *African Business*.[120] Ethiopia's last purchase of Israeli arms came in 1978.[121]

Israel's closest military relations in Africa, however, were and are with the white racists of Rhodesia and South Africa. The notorious 1978 deal, in direct violation of U.S. law, which sent Bell helicopters to Ian Smith's regime was an Israeli arms sale.[122] The Israelis also licensed Smith to produce special Uzi submachine guns called Rhuzis.[123]

South Africa

South Africa is the single largest Israeli weapons customer.[124] South Africa's primary suppliers of arms in 1976–77 were France and Israel.[125] Relations go back more than fifty years between the two states and between the Zionist movement and South Africa before 1948. In fact, the same Lord Balfour responsible for the infamous British cabinet resolution favoring a Jewish homeland in Palestine had authored the measure setting up the South African state in 1910. Jan Smuts, South African Prime Minister in the twenties and again in the forties, became a fervent supporter of Zionism and a friend of Zionist leader Chaim Weizmann in London during World War I.[126] Smuts was also an architect of the 1917 Balfour Declaration.[127] The ruling South African Nationalist Party came to power in 1948, the same year as the declaration of the zionist state. D. F. Malan, founder of South African apartheid, a virulent anti-Semite, and an open Nazi sympathizer, was the first head of state to visit Israel.[128] Relations were fairly cool,

however, until the early seventies.

In 1974 relations were raised to the ambassadorial level. Between 1968 and 1976 trade grew from $9 million to $97 million, not including arms sales or diamonds.[129] South African Jewish citizens were given a unique exception which allows them to invest in Israel. After the Soweto uprising in 1976 these investments grew, in a matter of months, from $8 million to $12 million. The South African government had approved a ceiling on such investments of $25 million.[130] In 1977 came the United Nations embargo on arms to South Africa: Israel pledged to observe it.[131]

Yosef Goell, a columnist for the *Jerusalem Post*, quoted a senior diplomat at the Israel Embassy in Pretoria saying, "South Africa is the only country with which we maintain relations where our main problem is not so much that of explaining Israel and her positions with the aim of improving those relations, but rather that of maintaining a low profile on what are embarrassingly good relations."[132]

These relations are good in spite of minor provocations on both sides. Former South African Premier Verwoerd wrote a threatening letter to a leading South African Jewish lawyer saying that the fact that "so many Jews voted for the opposition Progressive party and so few for his own Nationalist party 'did not go unnoticed,'" according to Goell.[133] In 1977 Jimmy Kruger, South African minister of justice and police,

"castigated South African Jews for sending money to Israel and for 'running away' from South Africa in its time of troubles."[134] Former Prime Minister Vorster, like many South African government figures, was interned during World War II because of pro-Nazi activities.

In June 1971, on the other hand, Israel offered a modest $2,000 contribution to the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity,[135] which did not even deign to acknowledge the offer.[136] South Africa retaliated by suspending the transfer of $25 million in Jewish donations to Israel; the South African Jewish community is the highest per capita supporter of Israel among world Jewry.[137] The Israeli donation was quietly withdrawn.

In spite of these frictions, during Prime Minister Vorster's visit in 1976, the two governments formed a Ministerial Joint Committee made up of the defense ministers of both countries.[138] According to this agreement, the exchange of Israeli arms and advice for South African strategic materials[139] has three main areas: conventional arms trade, nuclear collaboration, and counterinsurgency.[140] Since that time, South African-Israeli relations have been improving rapidly. In 1984 members of the South African Paratroopers' Association flew to Israel where they met a reception in the Knesset and a meeting with its president Mr. Savidor. The delegation included South African Major-General de Plessis and mercenary Kevin Beck, who fought

in the Seychelles.[141]

Israeli-supplied conventional arms sales and licensing agreements with South Africa include: Reshef-class gunboats armed with Gabriel missiles;[142] Dabur coastal patrol boats; hardened steel for South Africa's armored corps; self-propelled 105 mm howitzers; air-to-air rockets; antitank missiles; assault rifles; radar bases; and surveillance equipment.[143] Reshefs and Galils are produced under license in South Africa.[144] In May 1971 the Israelis offered to replace three crashed South African warplanes.[145]

Between 1970 and 1979, 45 percent of Israeli arms exports were naval ships of which South Africa purchased 35 percent.[146] In the same period, South Africa purchased 35 percent of all Israel's arms sales.[147] As explained earlier, South Africa provided capital to develop new Israeli warships. One $500 million contract provided South Africa with six Israeli corvettes equipped with surface-to-surface missiles.[148] In 1977 South Africa purchased 108 Gabriel I and II missiles and in 1979, 72 more.[149] Israel modernized 150 British-manufactured South African Centurion tanks after the British refused to do so.

Israel has also sent Kfirs and rebuilt Mirages to South Africa.[150] South African helicopter squadrons were equipped with Israeli night-visibility equipment,[151] and Israeli engineers have helped, according to the *Economist*, "develop a sensitive surveillance system using highly

sophisticated electronic detection equipment along South Africa's border, aimed at detecting guerrilla attacks."[152] Many such items are supplied by Israeli subsidiaries of U.S. firms such as General Telephone & Electric, Motorola, and Control Data.[153] South Africa is also developing an export arms industry and hopes to market its arms through its close Israeli and Taiwanese partners.[154]

On May 30, 1983, a South African remotely piloted spy plane was shot down over Maputo, the capital of Mozambique. Its engine bore the inscription "IAI—P/N—ZVN 161003" and a date of manufacture of January 25, 1981. IAI, of course, is Israel Aircraft Industries.[155]

In return, according to the *Economist*, South Africa has financed "some of Israel's costlier military projects." South Africa supplied the Israelis with a special steel it needed for its tanks and helped the Israelis modernize its outmoded steel industry.[156] South Africa also supplies the Israelis with uranium.[157]

Regarding part 2, on September 22, 1979 Israel and South Africa exploded their jointly developed atomic bomb in the South Atlantic near the South African coast.[158] Jack Anderson reported in 1980 that Israel, South Africa, and Taiwan were about to begin producing cruise missiles with a 1,500-mile range.[159] Anderson also said that in 1975 the Israelis fired on an American spy plane too close to their nuclear facilities. In 1979 U.S. Ambassador to South Af-

rica William Edmondson, was expelled when a hidden camera was discovered under his private plane.[160] The C.I.A. told the House Foreign Affairs Committee in a secret session in June 1981 that Israel was believed to have ten to twenty nuclear weapons deliverable either by fighter-bombers or Jericho missiles.[161] Jack Anderson, however, reported an Israeli stockpile of two hundred or more nuclear bombs capable of being delivered "deep inside the Soviet Union."[162]

In his 1984 book, *The Unnatural Alliance*, James Adams of the *Sunday Times* "claims that two very important projects which the two countries are involved in are the development of the fighter plane, the Lavie, and the construction of a submarine. These two projects were agreed upon during a secret visit by former Defense Minister Ezer Weitzman to South Africa in March 1980." The book also covers nuclear and economic collaboration and provides much documentation on the smuggling of U.S.-produced 155 howitzers and the technology to produce them to South Africa with Israeli help.[163]

As to counterinsurgency, the third part of the Israeli/South African agreement, in early 1975 Henry Kissinger asked the Israeli government "to send troops to Angola in order to cooperate with the South African army" in fighting the MPLA, according to the *Economist*.[164] The Israelis did send advisers and trained Savimbi's UNITA in Walvis Bay, Namibia.[165] Chile also

sent troops to help South Africa in Namibia. In 1979 Israel Aircraft Industries built an electrified fence on the border between Angola and Namibia to thwart SWAPO guerrillas.[166] Former Defense Minister Sharon spent ten days in South Africa in December 1981 and visited "operational areas in Namibia" during large-scale South African attacks into Angola, according to the *New York Times*.[167]

South Africa has designated 13 percent of its territory for African Bantustans or "homelands." No country in the world, including Israel, recognizes the homelands as independent governments except South Africa. The Israeli Foreign Ministry and its South African embassy deny any dealings with the homelands. The leader of the Ciskei homeland, Lennox Sebe, visited Israel in March 1983 and on his return said Israel and Ciskei would have closer cooperation, including "special weapons and know-how." Sebe said that the Israelis had sold the Ciskei a twin-engine jet previously used by Menahem Begin at a "nominal fee" and that Israel donated a police dog to his brother, Lieut. Gen. Charles Sebe, the chief of the security police.[168] Later it was discovered that the jet could not land on Bisho's grass runways. Accordingly, an airport modernization bill was quickly passed.[169] The State Department was reported investigating the legality of the sale of the U.S.-made jet in December.[170]

Chief Lucas Mangope, president of the

Bophutha'Tswana homeland made a rare foreign trip to Israel in October of 1983. Israeli and Taiwanese involvement in the homelands and in black townships such as Soweto are extensively reported by *Africa News*.[171] The *Sowetan* reported Israeli investors are being "scared away" from the Ciskei because of difficulties there. The same article notes many Israeli architects signing contracts in Bophutha'Tswana.[172] Despite difficulties in Ciskei, the *Jerusalem Post* reported former finance minister Yoram Aridor signed contracts to set up two factories there. Two other Likud Knesset members, including a deputy minister, and Ruth Dayan have also visited Ciskei. The Israeli ambassador in South Africa, Eliahu Lankin, condemned such investments as "likely to hurt Israeli interests," but one of the companies involved in the Ciskei is the state-owned Agridev agricultural development company.[173]

Jordan, incidentally, sold British-made weapons—41 Centurion tanks and 54 Tigercat missiles—to South Africa. Since France officially complied with the United Nations embargo on arms sales to South Africa in 1977, Egypt has served as a conduit for French arms to South Africa.[174]

SOUTH AMERICA

Israeli arms exporters sell to every South American country except Brazil, which produces and

exports its own arms. The Israeli military attache in Buenos Aires coordinates the activities of more than twenty Israeli arms merchants, one-third of the entire overseas staff, who traffic in weapons in Latin America.[175] *Davar* estimated Israeli arms exports to South America, mostly to Argentina and Peru, at $150 million in 1982.[176] However, in 1980 Argentina and El Salvador accounted for 35 percent of $1.2 billion in Israeli arms exports, or $420 million.[177] Ecuador's twelve Kfirs cost $196 million and the U.S. General Accounting Office estimates a possible $800 million in future Latin American sales for Israeli aircraft alone.[178]

As in Malawi, the Israelis have helped set up military youth movements like the Nahal in Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, El Salvador, Panama, and other countries.[179]

Argentina

Argentina is Israel's second largest customer worldwide,[180] accounting for about 29 percent of Israeli sales in the seventies;[181] its air force bought fifty supersonic jet fighters before 1982, making Argentina the single largest purchaser of Israeli combat fighters.[182] During Argentina's 1978 dispute with Chile over the Beagle Channel, Israeli arms salesmen, supposedly neutral, shuttled back and forth selling both sides as much as they wanted in planes, boats, and mis-

siles, such as the Shafrir which was sold to both sides and contains components made in the U.S.[183] General Mordechai Mota Gur, former head of Israeli armed forces, told General Pinochet, "the Chilean army is accustomed to victories and hungry for more." Gur went on to Argentina where he sold $250 million in the form of 26 Nesher fighter-bombers (Nesher is the Hebrew word for "dagger"; the Nesher is a Mirage), four Dabur patrol boats, and 18 sea-to-sea Gabriel MK missiles and arranged for delivery of $1.5 million in antiaircraft shells.[184] To satisfy their neutrality, the Israelis sent the deputy defense minister to Santiago. Pinochet bought spare parts and service for his C-130 transport planes and 150 Shafrir infrared missiles. The United States had refused to sell Chile the U.S. missiles after which the Shafrir is designed.[185]

Israel had done the same during the 1969 Honduras/El Salvador soccer war.[186] During the Malvinas/Falklands War, when the United States stopped its own shipments to Argentina, Israel got into hot water by illegally shipping arms to Argentina via New York.[187] The Israelis sold Argentina 32 rebuilt aircraft from the Israeli air force, Gabriel and Shafrir missiles, and spare parts for Argentinian Mirages and Skyhawks during the war.[188] Since the Malvinas/Falklands War,[189] Israel has sold the Argentinian junta 22 U.S.-made A-4 Skyhawks and has agreed to ship 22 more Kfir fighters.[190]

A CIA report, captured in the U.S. embassy in Teheran, states that the Israeli secret service, the Mossad, has close links with the Argentine army. The document asserts that Mossad officers, based in Rio de Janeiro and responsible for operations in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay went to Uruguay to "train the Argentinians. Based on these contacts, the Israelis have recommended the development of joint antiterrorist operations."[191] Israeli arms business with Argentina sharply increased after the military seized power in 1976. The anti-Semitic practices of Argentina's military junta, documented by the U.S. House of Representatives, the Catholic church, and the American Jewish Committee, are well-known. Jacobo Kovadloff, the AJC representative in Argentina, was forced to flee the country because of threats to his life. Yet Nazi war criminals like Edward Roschmann, the "Butcher of Riga," get official protection.[192] In December 1982 in Buenos Aires then Israeli Foreign Minister Itzhak Shamir expressed concern to Argentina's president and foreign minister about one thousand Jewish-Argentinian disappeareds from the five-year reign of terror. Then, in the same meeting, he went on to discuss further arms sales.[193]

Chile: In Chile Israeli arms are used to assassinate those who resist the Pinochet regime. A special agency of the Israeli Ministry of Defense,

the Department of International Relations and Cooperation, aids the Chilean junta in counterinsurgency. Chile has also bought a radar system and two patrol boats. Many such transactions are shrouded in secrecy. In 1982 the Chilean popular resistance denounced the secret unloading of a shipment of Israeli arms at the port of Talcahuano, near Concepción. In 1977 Chile bought 150 Shafrir missiles.[194] Then chief of the Israeli Air Force, General David Ivri, visited Chile in late 1982, presumably to induce them to buy aircraft.[195] In January 1983 the general director for Latin American affairs of the Israeli foreign ministry declared in Santiago that his country will increase relations with Chile "in all ways." When asked about the sale of arms, he stated, "It would be much nicer for us to sell textile products. But we are forced to produce arms for reasons of security and defense."[196]

Another close ally of the Israelis is the Duvalier regime in Haiti.[197] Perhaps the most outrageous Israeli sales in South America are those to Paraguay, unrepentant haven for Nazi war criminals.[198] The late Richard Arens, older brother of Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens, said he broke with his brother when he was working to stop the extermination of indigenous peoples in Paraguay. The elder Arens asked his brother to try to stop Israeli arms sales to Paraguay. Moshe responded that he wasn't interested.[199]

CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

In the seventies, Israel became "the major source of arms for the conflicts in Central America," according to the *Los Angeles Times*.[200] Joav Karni, of the progovernment *Yediot Ahronot*, stated, "The Israelis may be seen as American proxies in Honduras and Guatemala."[201] Estimates of Israeli arms sales to Central America vary widely. One source reports 1981 sales to Central America of $1.2 billion.[202] Others report only $20 million in 1982 with increases to $50 million expected.[203] The *New York Times* reported Reagan administration officials saying, "Israel was assisting the United States in Central America ... to oppose the Soviet Union, to combat reported PLO support for Nicaragua, and to expand the market for Israeli arms."[204] In January 1983 a special meeting of the Nonaligned Nations in Managua denounced the increasing support provided by Israel to the American policy of intervention in Central America.[205]

Nicaragua

During Dictator Anastasio Somoza's last year in power in Nicaragua, U.S. President Carter cut off overt aid to his regime. Six months before Somoza's fall, the Israeli government promised the U.S. government to cease arms sales to

Nicaragua.[206] But Israel took up the slack and supplied 98 percent of Somoza's arms.[207] The Carter administration decided not to try to stop Israeli arms going to Somoza[208] until two weeks before he fell.[209] A man who described himself as a commander in the Israeli army lived in the bunker of Somoza's army commander and was employed by the local agent for an Israeli arms export firm.[210] The Israelis even bought $75 million in Nicaraguan cotton which Somoza was unable to sell. Later they claimed they were repaying an old debt;[211] Somoza's father had sent them arms in 1948.[212]

In his last two years, Somoza's national guard killed 50,000 people, bombing the slums of Managua primarily with Israeli-made Arava and Westwind planes.[213] At the symbolic moment of Sandinista victory, a guerrilla held his captured Galil assault rifle high. The Sandinista government assumed all Somoza's debts to foreign banks except $5.1 million due Israel and Argentina for arms.[214]

Jaime Wheelock, the Sandinista government's minister of agrarian reform, accused the United States of wanting "Israel to intervene in Central America as the right arm of the United States." Opposition sources in Honduras, including Christian Democrat Moises Velazquez Nazzar, share this viewpoint and see a "tight link" between the Reagan and Sharon visits to Honduras in December 1982, visits serving to tighten the clamps on Nicaragua.[215]

Now that the Nicaraguan people are again under armed attack, the Israelis are back supplying the attackers with arms seized from the PLO and Lebanese resistance in Lebanon. The United States has offered to pay the shipping costs. Reagan administration officials were reported as saying, in the *New York Times*, that "the administration wanted to establish new lines of support to Nicaraguan rebels in case Congress approved legislation that would cut off covert support for the insurgents."[216]

Newsweek reported "the embarrassing details about U.S. equipment that turned up in so many early stories about the contra forces in Nicaragua" because alleged CIA inactivity meant "the CIA simply could not obtain and ship to Central America the kind of untraceable matériel—Belgian, Czech, West German, or captured Soviet stocks—that normally provide cover in such situations. According to these sources, the United States has now arranged for Israel to feed the CIA-supported guerrillas with equipment captured in Lebanon."[217]

Time reported Israeli Foreign Ministry spokesman Yosef Amihood's denial of Israeli support to the contras. In the next sentence, "Edgar Chamorro, a director of the Honduras-based Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN), the largest *contra* group, told *Time* that his rebels received about two thousand weapons from the Israelis last October." Israeli Foreign Ministry Director General David Kimche denied Israel "has

supplied weapons to Nicaraguan rebels" on April 27, 1984.[218] The same day, Vasco Matamoros, the Washington representative of the FDN, told *Davar* that the interests of the contras and Israel overlap. He said the FDN needs support from "democratic countries such as Israel because of the 'similarity between our principles and aims.'"[219] The Israeli embassy in Washington even denied that the FDN had requested financial aid, but the FDN told the *Los Angeles Times*, "We have begun to look for private funding, but that is not enough. We need a government, we are convinced that the Israelis might be the best source, because they have the technical experience."[220]

After the exposure of the CIA role in mining Nicaraguan harbors and the congressional cutoff in support in 1984, the *Washington Post* reported CIA Director William J. Casey was considering asking another country, such as Saudi Arabia, to send funds to the contras until the "funding problem is solved."

El Salvador

In the 1960s, high officials from thirteen countries in Latin America, including El Salvador and Guatemala, were given specialized Israeli instruction in paramilitary programs intended for youth. These "civic action" programs were funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development and were intended to counterbalance Cuban influence.[221] From 1970 to 1979 El

Salvador purchased 6 percent of Israel's worldwide arms sales which put it in third place after South Africa and Argentina. The air force includes 18 Dassault fighters, 17 Arava transports,[222] and 6 Fouga Magister Trainers, all purchased from Israel.[223] Salvadorean President Alvaro Magaña organized seminars in El Salvador in which Israeli officers passed on lessons learned from their Egyptian campaign in the 1973 war.[224] Some Salvadoran soldiers are armed with Uzi submachine guns and Galil assault rifles.

The PLO's ambassador in Nicaragua, Marwan Tahbub, reported about one hundred Israeli advisers stationed at a secret base near San Salvador and instructing Salvadoran officers in counterinsurgency tactics.[225] In 1979, the *New York Times* had reported an earlier charge by Shafik Handal, General Secretary of the El Salvador Communist Party that Salvadorans had been sent to Israel for training with Israeli military advisers also arriving in El Salvador.[226] In 1981 President Reagan wanted to send 21 million dollars to El Salvador but the funds in his foreign aid budget had been used up. Israel loaned the United States the money from its own aid funds. In 1982 the 21 million was tacked onto other U.S. aid to Israel.[227]

In the 1970s Israeli advisors trained the secret police (ANSESAL). Roberto D'Aubbisson, former president of the Constituent Assembly, served as a minor ANSESAL officer. His friend

Colonel Ochoa, also from ANSESAL, staged a rebellion against former Defense Minister Garcia in early 1983. Ochoa credits his training in Israel for his prominent advancement in the ranks.[228] ANSESAL was organized by the CIA and supplied "with electronic, photographic, and personal surveillance of individuals who were later assassinated by Death Squads." ANSESAL thus fingered Salvadorans for the death squads and occasionally functioned as a death squad itself. When ANSESAL was disbanded in 1979, all its files went with D'Aubisson who set up the death squads.[229]

Arnaldo Ramos, U.S. representative of the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR), reports that an Israeli-installed computer system has been installed in San Salvador, an allegation confirmed by Rene Guerra y Guerra, deputy interior minister in the first junta in 1979.[230] Between 1972 and 1980, when the United States was not shipping arms to El Salvador, 83 percent of El Salvador's arms came from Israel.[231] The FDR also charges that private Israeli organizations tied to the extreme Salvadoran right ship arms unofficially and surreptitiously from Miami.[232]

In August 1983 the Salvadorean government announced it intends to move its embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem around September 15. The new embassy in Jerusalem—only the second there along with Costa Rica's—was actually opened April 13, 1984. At the same time the

Israeli embassy in San Salvador, closed since 1979 for security reasons was scheduled to reopen.[233] The March 1984 Salvadoran elections, incidentally, featured an attempt to include all Salvadorans on a computer database.

The *New York Times* reported in April 1984 that El Salvador's Provisional President Alvaro Magaña thinks "increased economic and military aid from Israel" will go to El Salvador since the relocation of its embassy to Jerusalem. Another official, hoping for training for Salvadoran security forces and commenting on the rightist death squads said, "If Israel could help us combat terrorism, we would not have the problems." The Israeli foreign ministry denied any military relationship with El Salvador.[234] Fred Ikle, U.S. undersecretary of defense for policy, asked Israel "to send military advisers to El Salvador openly, as a demonstration of Israeli participation in the load the United States bears in Central America." It was expected Israel would respond favorably after the Israeli elections in July.[235]

Guatemala

Guatemalan-Israeli relations date back to 1948; one of three United Nations commissioners who helped set up the Israeli state was Guatemalan.[236] Guatemala received all its arms (including Aravas)[237] from Israel between 1977 and 1981, again a time when the U.S. stopped all arms transfers.[238] In 1980, the Guatemalan

Army was fully reequipped with Galil rifles costing $6 million.[239]

Guatemala also has an Israeli-installed computer which monitors electricity and telephone usage and records data on individual movements taken from police checkpoints. A Guatemalan with abnormal power or phone usage is suspected as running a safe house or as an activist. Such suspicion is likely to bring a death squad to the door.[240] "Israeli advisers work closely with Guatemala's police intelligence (G–2)," according to George Black of the North American Congress on Latin America.[241]

Former junta chief Lucas Garcia, who organized the death squads, said, "We appreciate Israel. We see the Israeli soldier as the best soldier in the world today, and we look to him as a model and an example for us."[242] However, young Guatemalan officers were reported disgusted at corruption in which their superiors shared arms sales commissions with Israelis.[243]

The Army Transmissions and Electronics School was opened in 1981 by President Lucas Garcia. George Black reports it is "designed, staffed, and funded by Israelis, its sophisticated systems are unprecedented in Central America. At the opening, Moshe Dayan, former Israeli ambassador to Guatemala (no relation to the former defense minister), called Guatemala "one of our best friends."[244]

According to *Time*, the Israelis have sold the Guatemalans "everything from antiterrorism

equipment to transport planes. Army outposts in the jungle have become near replicas of Israeli army field camps." Colonel Gustavo Menendez Herrera, based in Huehuetenango, told *Time* his troops "are using Israeli communications equipment, mortars, submachine guns, battle gear, and helmets."[245] Former President Efrain Rios Montt told ABC-TV that the coup which brought him into power was so successful "because many of our soldiers were trained by the Israelis."[246]

An Israeli military training team is assigned to Guatemala. Guatemalan military police were taught by Israeli advisors in a two-week counterinsurgency course.[247] Israelis advised Rios Montt in agrarian counterinsurgency, based on Israeli experience in the West Bank.[248] Guatemala's counterinsurgency program, the "Plan of Assistance to Conflict Areas" (PAAC), uses such slogans as "rifles and beans," "axes and shovels," "a roof, a tortilla, and work." In March 1983 Col. Eduardo Wohlers, director of PAAC, pointed to the Israelis as his main source of inspiration: "Many of our technicians are Israeli trained. The model of the *kibbutz* and the *moshav* is planted firmly in their minds. And personally I think it would be fascinating to turn our highlands [the home of Guatemala's indigenous people] into that kind of system."[249]

A Catholic priest interviewed by George Black in Guatemala in March 1983 "believes that even the promotion of Catholic-evangelical fac-

tionalism in an effort to divide and conquer communities is the result of Israeli advice, based on the successful exploitation of rivalries between Christian, Moslem, and Druze communities in Lebanon."[250]

In October 1983, the Guatemalan Guerrilla Army of the Poor (EGP) revealed that an Israeli weapons factory to manufacture Galils and Uzis began in May in Alta Verapaz Department. The weapons were to become the standardized arms of CONDECA, the regional alliance of reactionary Central American states. An Israeli electronics firm has reportedly been established in Guatemala to service military intelligence needs of Latin American armies. Tadiran Israel Electronics Industries Limited has also opened a Guatemalan branch with $12 million initial capital. The EGP also charged that three hundred Israeli counterinsurgency advisers were working with the Guatemalan army and security corps.[251]

Honduras

Honduras, too, has an Israeli computer, but here Israel contributes most directly to the U.S. strategy of regionalizing the war in Central America. Israeli planes and U.S.-financed runways have made Honduras Central America's main air power threatening FMLN control zones in El Salvador and now the people of Nicaragua as well.[252] In 1981 Israeli military per-

sonnel were spotted training pilots at a Honduran base.[253]

In July 1982 the Honduran army commander, General Gustavo Alvarez, made a quasi-secret visit to Israel seeking alternatives to American aircraft in case Congress refused to sell them.[254] In December 1982 former Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon returned the visit in Honduras at about the same time as President Reagan was there. A high-level Honduran officer told the *Christian Science Monitor*, "Sharon's trip was more positive. He sold us arms. Reagan only uttered platitudes, explaining that Congress was preventing him from doing more." The same officer reported that the sales included advanced fighter planes, training, and missiles.[255]

Sharon was accompanied by then Air Force chief General David Ivry who became president of Israel Aircraft Industries on January 1, 1983 and then deputy chief of staff when General Eitan retired in the aftermath of Sabra and Shatila.[256] In May Honduran General Alvarez made a "semiclandestine" visit to Tel Aviv to purchase "a large quantity" of Kfir jets and electronics devices.[257] Alvarez was recently quoted saying, in relation to Nicaragua and his support for the contras, "Everything you do to destroy a Marxist regime is moral."[258] Israeli combat pilots and military instructors are already in Honduras and "everything is paid for by the U.S.A."[259]

The Honduran Christian Commission for Human Rights published a communique indicating the Israeli/Honduran agreement included $25 million in military hardware (including twelve Kfirs) and fifty advisers.[260] Edgardo Paz Barnica, Honduran foreign minister, denied the deal.[261] A Honduran official explained this official silence: "We don't want Nicaragua to react violently as it did on other occasions for less important reasons."[262]

The U.S. State Department claims it did not know beforehand that Sharon was going to Honduras, even though Sharon went directly from Washington to Tegucigalpa. However, a high State Department official told the *New York Times*, when asked if the Reagan administration approved of Israeli activities in Central America, "Absolutely. We've indicated we're not unhappy they are helping out. But I wouldn't say we and the Israelis have figured out together what to do."[263]

Israeli advisers are serving in Honduras and are involved in the U.S.-sponsored covert operations against Nicaragua's Sandinista government. The Israelis have donated captured PLO weapons to the contras, based in Honduras, with transport paid for by the United States.[264]

Costa Rica

Costa Rica has not had an army since 1948. With Israeli assistance the country is now getting one. Israelis are training antiguerrilla units of the

Costa Rican National Guard in Costa Rica[265] while one hundred Costa Ricans are being trained in Israel.[266]

On February 14, 1983, Jack Anderson reported a multimillion-dollar U.S.-Israeli "land development" project to buy up "land along the Nicaragua-Costa Rica border, clearing roads through the wilderness and moving in thousands of settlers.... The U.S. Agency for International Development will ask Congress for $10 million to finance the settlement for the first year. Israel will provide the technical expertise, presumably based on its experience with settlements in the West Bank area." Anderson went on, "The Costa Rican border settlement, combined with the military buildup in Honduras, would create a giant strategic pincers physically isolating Nicaragua by land."[267] Dial Torgerson of the *Los Angeles Times* reported a much more ambitious ($240 million) proposal in the border area in a story filed just before he was killed.[268]

Israeli military and economic relations with Costa Rica began in February 1982 when President Luis Alberto Monge was elected. Monge stated he preferred "the assistance of Israel in matters of security to that of others." In November 1982, *Ha'aretz* reported Israel would build another of its electronic fences, this time on the border between Costa Rica and Nicaragua. Israel and Costa Rica also have extensive and growing economic ties. Ignacio

Klich wrote in *Le Monde Diplomatique* in February of 1983, "Madame Olsen (the Costa Rican ambassador in Israel) has revealed that Mr. Monge had been introduced, during his visit to the U.S., to the American Jewish Committee and officials of B'nai B'rith, who promised him support in its current negotiations with 170 American banks about the rescheduling of its debt."[269] Costa Rica has been the first Latin American country to break ranks and send its ambassador back to Jerusalem from Tel Aviv.[270] As a token of gratitude for this gesture, U.S. Zionists contributed half a million dollars to lay train tracks for a route paralleling and competing with the Panama Canal.[271]

Mexico: In 1975 Mexico bought five Arava short-takeoff and landing transports. A small group of Mexican pilots and mechanics went to Israel for training.[272] Mexico has a $20 million assembly plant for the Arava transport aircraft at Merida, where IAI provides technical assistance and holds 10 percent control.[273] Mexico also provides Israel with about 40 percent of its oil imports[274] and guarantees increased shipments in an emergency.[275] The United States, incidentally, also guarantees Israeli oil supplies by agreement.[276]

Puerto Rico: It is worth noting that Israel has also been involved in agricultural projects in the mountains of Puerto Rico. April Agro-Industries is 50 percent owned by Procon Ltd., an interna-

tional agribusiness firm run by Israeli Eytan Sella. *Claridad* charged favoritism and illegality surrounded the project.[277]

U.S. Aid to Israel

Israel is by far the largest recipient of U.S. military and economic aid, even without counting the conveniently "forgotten" loans which range between half and one billion dollars each year[278] ($750 million out of $1.7 billion in fiscal year 1983).[279] According to a General Accounting Office (GAO) study released August 24, 1982, from 1974 to 1982, Israel received $22.5 billion in U.S. aid, $2.7 billion in 1982.[280] If an additional $700 million requested for 1984 is approved, the fiscal year 1984 total will be $3.2 billion and the "total transfer of U.S. resources to Israel" from official and tax-deductible sources will reach $5 billion.[281] In the first year of their Lebanese invasion, the Israelis spent about $2.5 billion. (The official figure is $1.2 billion.)[282]

The United States increased aid to replace ammunition and tanks used up in Lebanon. This was revealed in a censored report from the General Accounting Office on U.S. aid to Israel.[283] The CIA, in the uncensored version, estimated that the United States would be paying for half the Israeli defense budget. The United States paid 37 percent of the Israeli defense budget in

fiscal year 1982.[284] The report gives U.S. aid to Israel, from 1948 to 1983, as $25 billion and as $29 billion through 1984.[285] Even these figures, which are low because they ignore a variety of forms of indirect aid, are much higher than those normally referred to by the U.S. government. For instance, the U.S. handed over as an outright gift $172 million in excess construction material used to rebuild Israeli air bases moved back from the Sinai.[286] Furthermore, Israel normally only pays 50 to 60 percent of the price of U.S. weapons it purchases.[287] And Israel is not required to set aside enough aid to pay for its long-term purchases as are other U.S. military aid recipients. Israel operates on a cash flow basis which forces additional U.S. aid in later years.[288]

More than half this aid is military,[289] though the distinction between military and economic aid is artificial since economic aid generally displaces local money which is then free to divert for military use. During the period from 1976 to 1980, total U.S. aid, including grants and credits, was $2.19 billion more than the total cost of Israel's direct military imports.[290] Between 1950 and 1981 Israel received more than half—$13.5 billion out of a total of $24.85 billion—of United States Foreign Military Sales assistance. Israel also received debt repayment concessions totaling $4.95 billion, half the world total.[291] FMS loans and grants, by law, must be used to purchase supplies from U.S. arms producers,

however Israel received $3.35 billion in exemptions from this provision out of a total of $3.4 billion granted.[292] In 1981 Israel officially received $2.2 billion in aid. Not included in this total was $3.3 billion to pay for military withdrawal from the Sinai and the construction of much more substantial replacement air bases.[293]

Thus, the United States has set Israel up in the arms business.[294] In 1977 the U.S. permitted $107 million in U.S. military aid to be used to produce the Israeli heavy tank, the Chariot (Merkava).[295] Huge transfusions of cash, weapons, key American parts in Israeli weapons, such as airplane engines, and the recent authorization of U.S. FMS aid to other countries to purchase Israeli-produced arms, an exception no other arms supplier enjoys, are all parts of U.S. aid.

Foreign aid, 75 to 80 percent from the United States, accounts for *one half* of Israel's gross national product. Israel must raise $9 billion to $11 billion in new funds in 1983 to cover its deficit and refinance debts.[296] Thomas R. Stauffer adds that "commercial credit is available [to Israel] only by virtue of the U.S. cash aid which permits pro-forma servicing of the debt. Without U.S. aid, these funds would quickly dry up."[297] Israel has an outstanding $8 billion debt to the United States, but few expect this to be paid in anything but future aid. In fact, in 1983 the Reagan administration requested $785 million in economic aid for Israel, but California Senator

Alan Cranston, a presidential hopeful, moved to raise this to $910 million, just enough to cover principal and interest payments on the Israeli debt.[298] Israel's total foreign debt is $20 billion to $26 billion.[299] Israel's population, however, is shielded from crisis. Unemployment has remained at 5 percent since 1979 and real per capita consumption continues to increase.[300]

But the giveaway which most directly affects Israel's arms sales—and allows bankrupt countries such as Honduras, El Salvador, and Zaire to purchase Israeli arms—is a little-known clause in the secret November 1981 Memorandum of Understanding on Strategic Cooperation between the United States and Israel.[301] Dean Fischer, of the U.S. State Department, explained that Article III, Section 2D of that agreement paves the way for "the possible use by third countries of American Foreign Military Sales credits to purchase Israeli defense items and service."[302] U.S. domestic arms producers ought to be mounting strenuous protests. No other foreign country enjoys such a privilege.[303]

This agreement was temporarily suspended after the annexation of the Golan Heights but recent evidence indicates it has been back in force since the summer of 1982, perhaps a tacit admission by the United States government of its basic support for the invasion of Lebanon. In May 1982 the *Boston Globe* reported talks to revive the Memorandum of Understanding had begun. Later, Department of Defense officials

revealed that Israel and the United States had agreed "to implement economic elements contained in their suspended strategic cooperation agreement without formally reviving the accord." The agreement was to be completely reinstated in June 1982.[304] One year later *Al Hamishmar* cited a story in the Italian *Manifesto* revealing that "Israeli combat pilots and military instructors are already in Honduras and everything is paid for by the U.S.A."[305]

In April 1984 Israeli Foreign Ministry Director General David Kimche visited Washington to discuss Israeli-American cooperation in Central America and Africa. Under discussion was "a U.S. plan to set up a special fund to finance Israeli aid to Central American and African countries."[306]

Putting It All Together

Are the Israelis just good businessmen who found a market and filled it? Certainly they are making good profits from arms. Are the Israelis exemplary and principled warriors against the spread of communism as they, and their South African allies, like to portray themselves?[307] It is true that they see themselves in this way. But there is much more involved, and we do not have to rely on speculation.

Yakov Meridor was a minister without portfolio, an economic adviser, in Begin's cabinet. Meridor made a proposal, called the Meridor Memorandum, which is part of the "mutually understood" provisions of the Israeli-U.S. strategic agreement of 1981. Meridor summed up his ideas in *Ha'aretz* (August 1981):

> We shall say to the Americans: Don't compete with us in Taiwan, don't compete with us in South Africa, don't compete with us in the Caribbean area, or in other areas in which we can sell weapons directly and where you can't operate in the open. Give us the opportunity to do this and trust us with sales of ammunition

> and military hardware. Let Israel act as your agent."[308]

Shortly after the agreement was signed, *Al-Hamishmar* (December 29, 1981) commented:

> Israeli officials claim that one of the advantages Israel will gain from the new strategic accord with the United States will be a greater role in the Third World. The leaders of pro-Western regimes in the Third World, especially those of countries that have unpopular, authoritarian regimes and a negative image in Washington, would like to make use of Israel's "American connection," according to the same source. They seem to hope that Israel will be able to help them through her influence and efforts in Washington to obtain direct U.S. political, military and economic aid and perhaps also an increase in indirect military assistance.[309]

The United States has full knowledge of Israeli arms sales and has never objected—with a single exception—even to arms sales to Argentina (so long as they did not travel via New York) or Iran (once the hostages were released) or to other violations of U.S. law which are supposed to terminate U.S. aid.[310] The single exception was a Carter administration objection to sales of advanced Kfir fighter planes with U.S.-produced engines to Ecuador which introduced a

new level of military technology to the region.[311] In December 1979, while presenting his letter of accreditation to Israeli President Yitzhak Navon, Ecuadorian Ambassador Wilson Vela Hervas announced Ecuador was ready to increase oil exports to Israel. Later the same month, Israeli Defense Minister Ezer Weizman insisted the ban be lifted.[312] Under extreme pressure, Carter caved in and allowed the sale. The Reagan administration has raised no such barriers.

In fact, the Reagan administration feels a certain envy toward the Israelis. *Time* magazine quotes

> an American expert based in the Honduran capital of Tegucigalpa, "Israel operates without the restrictions imposed on us in this part of the world. It doesn't have to explore the abuse of human rights. It has arms to sell, and the governments in this region need them." An Israeli weapons dealer puts it more bluntly: "Just about anyone who shows any interest in buying arms from us can have them."[313]

An irony of history finds Israel working on both the left and right of the United States. This article focuses on Israel's help to rightist regimes, too distasteful to the people of the United States for sufficient military assistance from the U.S. government. In Africa, especially prior to 1973, when distrust of the European

colonial heritage made it difficult for the United States to penetrate young African regimes, Israel was welcomed and was not recognized itself as an outpost of European colonialism. It was no accident that Israel had the plans for Entebbe airport; Israelis built it. Idi Amin, Mobutu, and a long list of prominent Africans went to Israel for training.

Lest anyone rely on a Labor government to end Israel's arms sales to dictators, note that it was the previous Labor government which initiated Israel's role as an arms supplier.[314] In fact, Israeli collaboration with right-wing and fascist forces is always justified by Zionist arguments, holding the creation and preservation of the Zionist state above all principles, political or moral. Zionism, since its inception, has correctly identified imperialism—British, French, or U.S.—as its strategic ally.[315]

Even today, Labor and other so-called left Zionist Israeli parties play a role for the United States in penetrating the international left, labor, and cooperative movements, especially in Latin America and particularly in Mexico, a huge subject beyond the scope of this article. Israeli newspaper ads seek Spanish-speaking Israelis for work abroad. Consider that Israeli parties have direct relations with parties in the Socialist International, that the Histadrut works actively in Latin America, and that the Israelis use their supposedly socialist kibbutzim as a basis to work with Latin American cooperatives.

SUMMARY: ISRAEL IN THE CONTEXT OF THE MOVEMENTS AGAINST INTERVENTION IN CENTRAL AMERICA AND AGAINST APARTHEID

Across the United States, a huge movement is growing to oppose U.S. intervention, in any form, in the popular uprisings of Central America. Recent Gallup polls show massive opposition to U.S. military aid to the regimes in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras. It is conceivable that this movement could succeed in diminishing or even cutting off U.S. military aid. But it is clear that the Reagan administration is prepared to follow its predecessors in using Israel, in the words of Ernesto Cardenal, minister of culture in Nicaragua, "as an intermediary to channel arms."[316]

The Reagan administration obviously has no interest in violations of the Monroe Doctrine, the 19th century U.S. declaration of hegemony over Central and South America and the Caribbean, when a close ally violates it to help preserve U.S. hegemony. Let no one delude themselves: Israel operates in the western hemisphere, in Asia, and in Africa with close U.S. supervision and approval. The U.S. government is using Israel to circumvent U.S. popular and congressional opinion. The *New York Times* reported

> American officials said that the Reagan administration, concerned about Congressional limitation of involvement in Central America, had encouraged the Israeli activities as a means of supplementing American security assistance to friendly governments. In addition, the officials said, *the administration wanted to establish new lines of support to Nicaraguan rebels in case Congress approved legislation that would cut off covert support for the insurgents.* (emphasis added)[317]

In the case of South Africa, the Israeli back door is wide open to U.S. arms and technology flowing to South Africa and South African goods flowing into the United States with Israeli labels. The South African atomic bomb and the Israeli bomb are the same bomb, both fueled with South African (Namibian) uranium and designed with shared technology.

Israel's importance to the United States thus cannot be measured only by its invaluable role in repressing the Palestinian people and blocking revolutionary developments throughout the Arab countries. And because Israel performs its assigned tasks internationally, the United States allows the Israelis more leeway in its region than would otherwise be permitted. And U.S. aid shields the Israeli population from suffering the economic consequences.[318]

Inescapably, work to stop U.S. aid to dictatorships in Central America and ties to South Africa will have little effect if Israeli arms sales are not cut off. The American people have only one

lever to use against Israel: cutting off U.S. aid. Consider that the Israelis actually oppose full-scale resumption of U.S. shipments of arms to Central America since this directly competes with Israeli sales. If its goal is to actually deny weapons to Alvarez and his counterparts in Honduras and El Salvador and to genuinely cut South Africa off from the United States and not merely to wipe the blood from the hands of the United States, Israel will have to become a prime target of the Central American solidarity movement and of the growing movement against Apartheid.

The Israeli role, to use a Vietnam-era expression, is escalating dangerously fast. Israel plays a key role in the regionalization of the Central American conflict. The Israeli arms industry is capable of supplying all the needs of the Central American regimes and would be glad to do so. The Israeli alliance with South Africa, too, grows increasingly close. With no sign of significant Israeli opposition,[319] Israel will only be stopped when a broad opposition movement is built in the United States and U.S. aid to Israel is cut off.

APPENDIX ONE

Interview with Mfanafuthi (Johnny) Makatini, director of International Affairs Department and Chief Representative to the United Nations of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC). Interviewed in Geneva, September 1983.

SG: How does the ANC view the relationship between Israel and South Africa?

MM: The South African regime, presently led by people who were active collaborators with Nazi Germany and, therefore, strongly anti-Semitic, has now become the closest ally of Zionist Israel. This is a strange alliance. But, as David Ben-Gurion said in 1969, they justify it on the basis of so-called comradeship between two regimes under peril.

One thing that brings them together is their total opposition to the right to self-determination for the indigenous people of South Africa and for the Palestinian people. Of course there are other parallels: the use of religion as a basis, or spiritual rock, for the denial for the right to self-determination to indigenous peoples; the claim of predestination, or divine right; and the view of Palestine and South Africa as "promised lands."

The first statesman to visit Israel after the proclamation of Israel was Dr. Malan, then prime minister of South Africa. A number of people who ended up as officials in Israel are South African-born, I could mention [former

Foreign Minister] Abba Eban, [current President] Chaim Herzog, and many others. Financial regulations are relaxed whenever Israel is in serious trouble; a lot of money gets shipped off from South Africa.

Now this collaboration has reached a very high level in the field of economics, in the field of military and nuclear collaboration, and both these regimes, of course, enjoy the support and alliance with the United States. They enjoy the protection of the United States whenever the international community seeks to impose punitive measures for their acts of aggression.

Both the Israeli Zionist regime and the South African regime play a complementary role; both serve as permanent bases of aggression. The role of Israel has been to destabilize and foment insecurity in the Middle East in addition to the oppression of the Palestinian people. Israel engages in total aggression against the Arab countries and operates as the regional gendarme in the service of the United States, international imperialism, whereas Israel extends a carrot to the African countries south of the equator. This is part of the strategy to divide the continent of Africa.

The apartheid regime engages in total aggression against the immediate African countries, i.e., the front-line states that are supporting our struggle, while it seeks to neutralize the Arab countries, since they are the only source where it can get oil which helps to fuel the machinery

of oppression and aggression.

This strategy is a pincer movement, and we believe that every Israeli official in Africa, even a technician, is an extension of the South African intelligence service. Therefore, it is out of the question that African countries can have relations with Israel. We welcomed the severance of diplomatic relations in 1973, not just because Israel was occupying Egyptian soil, an African country. For us, it's because Israel *is* an enemy of the continent of Africa. We deplore the role that Israel is playing—for example, the visit by Sharon to Namibia, to the bases there, making public statements literally calling on the international community to put an end to the arms embargo against South Africa.

Israel's training of Savimbi's forces is an act of hostility to the supreme objectives of the Organization of African Unity because the African countries are all supportive of the struggle for the liberation of Namibia and they are all against the destabilization policies carried out by South Africa against Angola. When Israel seeks to establish diplomatic relations with African countries, it is a matter of a trojan horse, playing the role of a friend, but in fact a total enemy of the continent of Africa. We can go on and on insofar as this collaboration is concerned; the list is very long.

SG: What is the significance of Israel's special relations with the Bantustans, such as the Ciskei?

MM: First and foremost, it is important to recall

that the so-called Ciskei is a tribal entity created by the apartheid regime as part of its policy of Bantustanization or tribal fragmentation of South Africa. This policy aims to prevent the exercise of the right to self-determination of the indigenous people in South Africa. The international community rejected this policy in 1976 when the first Bantustan, the Transkei, was proclaimed. The General Assembly condemned this as null and void and called on all governments not to recognize or to have any contact whatsoever with this tribal entity. Therefore, any regime or government that establishes contact, direct or indirect, with such entities is acting in a hostile manner.

So far, these tribal entities have only been recognized by the apartheid regime, the creator of the problem. The second closest recognition that has come so far is from Israel. There have been visits to Israel by some of these tribal puppets, and there have been promises of assistance and even granting of assistance, including a private plane to the Ciskei puppets. This scheme derives from the collusion between South Africa and the Israeli Zionist regime and also the United States. In other words, we are witnessing an attempt to prepare the ground for the eventual recognition of these tribal creations.

And this takes place at a time when the regime in South Africa has embarked on massive forced removals of the African people who are being taken out of the cities in their millions

and dumped in these Bantustans. Already 3.5 million have been removed, and another 2 million are scheduled to be removed pretty soon. This double-pronged approach—the removals and the offensive to win some recognition from certain countries—is aimed at bringing about a situation where the African people can be totally deprived of South African nationhood. Not one African, not one black is to be recognized as South African. In other words, Israel is now in the forefront in policies that are tantamount to total hostility to every position adopted by the Organization of African Unity.

SG: What dangers do you see in the joint Israeli/South African/Taiwanese development of nuclear weapons and cruise missiles which has been exposed since about 1980?

MM: These three—South Africa, Israel, and Taiwan—are all pariah states, regimes that are totally isolated internationally. The United States, in pursuit of its so-called global strategy, uses these pariah regimes as regional gendarmes in order to foment instability in certain areas. South Africa is playing that role in southern Africa, creating, training, financing, and equipping dissidents or counterrevolutionaries, such as the Savimbi elements, the LNA in Lesotho, the so-called Mozambican armed resistance, and the Selous Scouts in Zimbabwe.

These counterrevolutionaries have the role of destabilizing the legitimate governments through the destruction of the economic and

social infrastructures. Anything done to strengthen the military position of these pariah states is part of that strategy. We have seen nuclear collaboration between the United States and South Africa, between the United States and Israel, as far back as the sixties. But this now includes Taiwan.

Taiwan and Israel have also served as conduits for the arming of South Africa. But now the biggest danger posed to world peace and international security is that these three pariah states have achieved nuclear capacity thanks to the collaboration between them and some of these western countries.

What dangers do we see? Yes, we see the danger of them being a nuisance. The whole purpose is to try and intimidate international opinion into capitulation. It is intended to bring about a situation whereby the third world or the nonaligned countries can be intimidated into abandoning support of the struggle of the Palestinian people or the South African people. But nothing of that sort will happen. Nothing is going to deter the struggles in both Palestine and in South Africa and Namibia, despite the fact that Israel and South Africa have this nuclear capacity.

It is very important, however, to focus on the role being played by Taiwan because this has tended to escape the notice of a number of countries. Taiwan has friendly relations with some Arab states who are unaware of the role that

Taiwan is playing. We are absolutely convinced that once this role is publicized, the Taiwan regime is going to run into serious problems to the point of relations being cut.

Otherwise, the danger is nothing special. We know we are dealing with desperate regimes which are not even signatories to the nuclear nonproliferation treaty, but when you take up arms, nothing can deter you, not even the threat of the use of nuclear weapons.

APPENDIX TWO

Interview with Victor H. Tinoco, Nicaragua's Deputy Foreign Minister, in Geneva, September 1983.

Israeli Support to Somoza

The role of the Israelis supporting the Somoza dictatorship was very clear. It was apparent to all the people in Nicaragua when they saw, for example, the Somocista guardsmen with Galil rifles or when they saw the Arava airplanes, which were the most useful airplanes Somoza had to fight against the revolutionaries and to fight against the people who were trying to liberate their country. I think that the Israeli government not only gave arms to the Somoza dictatorship, but the Somoza dictatorship received different kinds of advisers in security matters, in intelligence, and in military matters, too. We know there were many advisers from Israel.

During the last weeks of the struggle against the Somoza dictatorship, the Carter administration was in a very difficult situation. They could not openly support the Somoza regime because it was very discredited. They used other channels—surrogates like Israel—to continue support. Simultaneously, the United States sought a solution through negotiations with the revolutionaries. It was a very complicated situation. On the one hand, I think that sectors of the Carter administration wanted to reach an agreement with the revolutionaries to avoid

bloodshed in the area. But, on the other hand, they couldn't completely cut off support to Somoza because that would mean the immediate downfall of the Somoza regime. It's true that Israel played a part in this dual-track policy in reference to Nicaragua.

Nicaraguan support for the Palestinian cause, however, is not really directly related to the positions taken by the Israeli government. Our solidarity with the Palestinian people has an historic origin because even before the triumph of the Sandinista revolution, we had some relations with the PLO. On the other hand, we support the PLO because we support all just causes, all over the world.

Israeli Role in Central America Today

There has been some information that the Israeli government is supplying some of the Central American governments with arms, ammunition, artillery pieces, and advisers. Often these arms are not used to fight internal problems. In some cases they are but in other cases they are aimed against the Nicaraguan revolution. We remember that the former Defense Minister of Israel, Ariel Sharon, visited Honduras last year. He met with the current strongman in Honduras, General Gustavo Alvarez. I think that they have a very close relationship. At the military level, Honduras has very good relations with the Israelis.

I think that in this case there are differences

from what happened in the Carter administration. Now, again, the Reagan administration is using Israel as an intermediary to send arms, to send advisers, and to maintain the regimes in power a little longer. But the difference now, in comparison with the Carter administration, is that during the Carter period they were, as I said, trying to develop the dual-track policy, supporting the regimes in certain ways but, on the other hand, trying to find a peaceful solution. Now Reagan is emphasizing only the military moves, the military tactics, and he does not put real emphasis on looking for negotiations, dialogue, or a peaceful solution to the situation in Central America.

We received envoy Richard Stone in Nicaragua twice, but the reality is we haven't heard any concrete proposals from the administration. On the contrary, for three years since Reagan took office in Washington we have been proposing dialogue with the United States. We proposed a bilateral dialogue three years ago. There was no positive reaction. Then we proposed that a third country like Mexico play the role of observer in this dialogue. But at the time the Reagan administration didn't accept any kind of dialogue with Nicaragua—serious dialogue. In that sense, we hope that steps like the visits of Mr. Stone to Central America will in the future represent real interest from the Reagan administration in looking for a peaceful solution in Central America.

Charges of Anti-Semitism Against Nicaragua

One of the tactics of some parts of the Reagan administration has been simply to transmit all over the world through the mass media flat lies about what is going on in Nicaragua and Central America. For example, two and one half years ago the U.S. administration was saying that Nicaragua had received one thousand planes from Vietnam in boxes and I-don't-know-how-many ships. It's impossible to believe that. To date we have no more than two planes, both of which we inherited from the Somoza dictatorship. Such lies like that are the kind of tactics we have been seeing in the last three years.

This matter of the so-called persecution of the Jews in Nicaragua is the same kind of flat lie. Really there is no persecution of Jews in Nicaragua. There were two individuals, two Jewish persons, that were very close partners with Somoza as well who had property confiscated like many other Nicaraguans, like hundreds of other Nicaraguans who were partners of Somoza. Their property was confiscated not because they were Jews but because they were Somocistas and there's a difference. But the other Jews are working freely and openly in Nicaragua. We have many Jews or descendants of Jews in our government, even at administrative levels: the foreign minister and the minister of national welfare and many other people. In

Nicaragua we don't persecute anybody for religious or racial reasons. So that's a flat lie.

The propaganda campaign of the administration in this matter of the Jews in Nicaragua is completely cynical. We talked with the Jews living in Nicaragua and we said to them, "You are living here freely. If you want a place to pray, to worship, there is no problem." We confiscated a private house that was the property of Jews but not because they were Jews, as I said, but because they were Somocistas. We helped many other religious groups in Nicaragua to pray in liberty. "If you want help from the Nicaraguan government to get a house, you can transform this house into a synagogue." They accepted, and the government returned the house in question.

This is a reiteration of the position of the Nicaraguan government that there is not any kind of persecution against any person for religious matters in Nicaragua. The only people that we persecute are the Somocistas who are killing our people in the war and are the exmembers of the Somocista guard.

APPENDIX THREE

Interview with Francisco Herrera, representative for Switzerland and Austria, FMLN and FDR, El Salvador in Geneva, September 1983.

ISRAEL IN EL SALVADOR

Israel has a long tradition of military aid to the dictators of Central America. We saw this quite clearly when the Nicaraguan people were fighting the last battles against the Somoza dictatorship. To Guatemala, Israel sends arms, uniforms, and financial aid. Last year General Sharon visited Honduras.

At the same time the United States is building a very strong military base in El Salvador, modernizing airports, training Salvadorean and Guatemalan soldiers, and preparing for further aggression against Nicaragua.

Israel is thus collaborating with the United States in Central America. Israel appears determined to intervene in a shameless manner in our business. Salvadorean officials are visiting Israel for training. President Alvaro Magaña, who totally represents North American interests, is an old friend of the Israeli military.

After the 1973 war with Egypt, Israeli officers arrived in El Salvador to hold seminars on lessons from their Egyptian campaign. Alvaro Magaña was one of the organizers.

Today the Reagan administration is having difficulty with public opinion, with the Senate,

and with Congress. Israel serves as the bridge to resolve these difficulties by directly assisting the oligarchy and the Salvadorean army. Israel is supplying planes to El Salvador. One of the big problems of the Salvadorean army at the present time is communication and information on the diverse resistance. The Israelis are helping them a great deal on this matter, providing detection equipment and training technicians to operate it.

Much Israeli support to El Salvador is through secret agreements which are difficult to document. Nevertheless, one Israeli journalist with access to information has denounced Israeli intervention in El Salvador. We have had difficulty obtaining precise data on the Israeli involvement. The press has the task of investigating and denouncing it. They must go to El Salvador to corroborate what our people experience in the flesh.

In addition to Israeli government involvement in El Salvador, some private organizations who have relationships with the extreme Salvadorean right—merchants with political objectives, are involved in our country. The Israeli government cooperates with them. Since the fifties Israeli arms have been sent to our region. These groups are based in Miami from which they ship arms unofficially and surreptitiously. What we see are the results. These shipments—to both Guatemala and El Salvador—must be denounced and stopped.

REFUGEES: SALVADOREAN AND PALESTINIAN

After bombing raids, the army comes and destroys everything in its path, killing animals, burning fields, and naturally killing the people. So our people flee, looking for places with better protection. Some go to guerrilla zones; others leave the country.

The United States knows that where there are people there are seed beds for guerrillas. To them, human life is not important. With the excuse of annihilating the guerrillas, they assassinate women and children. If they kill twenty, they believe they have eliminated one guerrilla, at the very least. This is truly inhuman; the Salvadorean army and the United States are massacring the population. To them, this is just another aspect of war, coldly calculated.

We do not wish to offend the Palestinians, but in El Salvador we have had ten or twenty Sabras and Shatilas. The same is true in Guatemala. In Costa Rica, Mexico, and, above all, in Nicaragua, the situation is much better for our refugees. Although the Nicaraguan government is weighed down with great difficulties of its own, trying to build its country, nevertheless it is giving as much help as it can to the refugees.

The United States, on the other hand, has a very repressive policy against the Salvadorean refugees; they are considered illegal. To recog-

nize the existence of political refugees would be to recognize the situation in El Salvador.

Our task is to provide protection, not only material but national and cultural, for our refugees. The popular Salvadorean church has done good work with the refugees. The church, particularly the National Coordination of the Popular Church of Monsignor Romero (CONIP), works inside the country as well.

What I wish to emphasize, despite the refugees and the tremendous disruption of our country, is that the program of the Salvadorean army has failed. Our people have a high level of political development. The refugees are not a passive, resigned population. Therefore the United States is re-evaluating its plans and considering a so-called Pacification Zone where they will supply some health care and food. However, they do not deal with providing a minimum social basis without which they cannot maintain power.

RESOURCE GUIDE

Periodicals

Israeli Foreign Affairs, 5825 Telegraph Avenue, No.34, Oakland, CA 94609 USA

Monthly research report on Israel's diplomatic and military activities worldwide.

Palestine Focus, P. O. Box 27462, San Francisco, CA 94103

Bimonthly newspaper covers all aspects of Israel's international role in addition to general coverage on Palestinian issues and U.S. intervention in the Middle East.

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